

PHILOSOPHY,
RELIGION AND
EDUCATION ✓

CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

A Bi-Weekly Journal of Christian Opinion



Grace Amid Judgment

A close reading of racial events in recent months in the South should give pause to any enthusiast for the early arrival of a racially integrated society. At the same time there are many signs of trends behind the news which give assurance that God's grace is present along with his judgment.

One such gracious trend is to be seen in the renewed strength and vitality of the Negro churches in meeting the crises in local communities. It is well known that in the last two or three decades the prestige and centrality of the church in the Negro community have suffered marked decline. Especially for the "new" educated Negro, the Negro preacher of tradition has come to symbolize the emotionalism and irrelevance of old-time religion. Finding organizations like the NAACP more effective channels of loyalty, young Negroes have been leaving their churches in droves. This situation still prevails to a large extent and is reflected in the alarmingly few competent Negroes now in seminary training.

Now this trend is being reversed. The courageous leadership of Martin Luther King in the Montgomery boycott, which combined in rare measure militant conviction with group self-restraint, even in the face of severe intimidation, has inspired comparable efforts all over the South. Negro churches are becoming again rallying points, not for a religion of escapism, but for intramundane witness to human rights. The names of Negro clergymen appear increasingly as officers in chapters of the NAACP and interracial councils. That the church of the dispossessed should again become the conscience of the community is proving an inspiration to many white pastors. Courage, by grace, is as contagious as fear.

A second trend to be noted is the revulsion of the great majority of the southern people against the increasing recourse to violence of the rabid racists. All the cloak-and-dagger activities of the Citizens' Councils and the newly-revived Klan, anonymous threats, cross-burnings, physical beatings, economic boycotts, are both pathetic and ugly. One leader of a local White Citizens' Council confided to this writer: "Our trouble is, the NAACP has the best Negro leadership. We have to work with the dregs." In many instances the lawless hoodlums, through flourishing southern oratory and biblical piety, have defeated their own purposes and served to alienate the sober white citizenry of local southern towns, those firmly entrenched in "our way of doing things," and have aroused public sentiment to take a determined stand for law enforcement, even an integrated policy if need be. The outbreak in Clinton, Tennessee, proved a dramatic instance. When the gang of racists, determined to prevent the entry of Negroes to the local high school, were confronted by the quiet courage of the Rev. Paul Turner, the local white Baptist minister who escorted a group of Negro children into the school, they beat him up, partly because here the church showed up unexpectedly on the other side. Whatever the complexity of motives, their action served chiefly to strengthen the public support for those in the community determined to carry through with an orderly policy of integration.

On the legal side there has been an over-all gain, not always as easily detected as the setbacks. Since 1954 many legal minds have been at work, at the behest of courthouse politicians, to devise stratagems of avoidance and delay, cloaked in lan-

guage of utmost respectability. Yet as these schemes are being tested in the intricate mazes of the Federal Court system, most of them are broken on the rock of the simple unambiguous principle of the 1954 decision: public policy which discriminates by the criterion of race is unconstitutional. Thus, an elaborate structure of law passed by the Virginia General Assembly to circumvent the Supreme Court decision (a plan more stringent than comparable measures in other states of the upper South, in that it would cut off public funds from any school that attempted integration) has been destroyed in the Federal Courts as "unconstitutional on its face." Comparable devices of legal obfuscation will come to eventual grief. In effect the implementing decisions in the courts not only destroy the attempts to evade the law, but positively, in matters of transportation and recreational facilities, as well as public schooling, produce changes of policy on buses, golf courses, high school gymnasiums, etc., which in turn produce a public acceptance, grudging if not glad, of integrated ways of doing things. Law in this way becomes a kind of means of grace, in that it serves to create outwardly the conditions within which the morale for Christian community can be built.

On many matters, to be sure, the crisis deepens, and pride in prejudice abounds. An ominous trend to watch, for example, are the attempts in several states, successful now in three, to drive the NAACP out of existence by any legal pretext, however flimsy. These are the strategies of desperation which break community and which may tempt too far the patience and self-control of the Negro minority. But such dark portents should not lead one to fail to see the flashes of divine grace and forgiveness present in the affairs and troubles of our proud and angry dust.—W.B.

OVERCOMING RATIONALIZATIONS

WE PUBLISH in this issue portions of the Presidential Address of the Methodist Church in the Union of South Africa. What is said in this address would satisfy the critics of the South African racial policy. If it had been said in New York it would not have been as surprising, but as said in South Africa it is courageous. It is encouraging to know that such a view can be publicly presented by a church leader in that country at this time. Through the press we learn chiefly about the mass trials of the 156 leaders for alleged Com-

munist activities or for treason. Even a person of as great prestige as Alan Paton has been summoned by the court, and one of those arrested was Professor Z. K. Matthews, who is greatly admired in this country by those who have come to know him as a competent scholar and as a strong and gracious Christian spirit. These trials seem intended to intimidate people against all attempts to improve the condition or status of the Africans and the Colored people through their own organized action.

These grave events in South Africa should not obscure for us the fact that there has been a steady increase of criticism in the churches of the rigid policies of the government. The churches with a British background have never accepted the racial doctrines underlying the policy of *apartheid*; they have been very clear in their support of the conviction that the church should be multiracial and in various councils of the churches have this character. The critics of these churches say that their constituency as a whole has no political alternative to the present policy of the government, but this is not strange since what the leaders of these churches call for would involve a most difficult reconstruction of the life of the nation. The problem of a small white minority which holds the political power at the moment but which fears for its existence is far more baffling than anything known in our own South, but even here the distance between the official teachings of the churches and the attitudes that prevail in their constituencies is very wide.

It is more remarkable that there has been very deep rethinking among the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church of their positions on race. They have been inclined to find biblical and theological grounds for the preservation of racial separateness but now the theological leaders of these churches are questioning this tendency. Professor Ben Marais has published a very significant book entitled *Color—The Unsolved Problem of the West* which demolishes the theological grounds for racial segregation though the author is very cautious about integration on practical and cultural grounds. Dr. B. B. Keet, one of the most respected theologians in South Africa has written a more outspoken book against racial discrimination and segregation entitled *Whither South Africa*. The Dutch Reformed leaders who do believe that separation of the races is better for both races at present seek a more complete territorial *apartheid* that would give each

race a better chance to develop its own cultural life and that would free the Africans from exploitation by the white race. This raises such great practical difficulties because of the economic dependence of the white race on African labor that it gets little or no political support.

In the long run it is of great importance that the churches have overcome in their own thought theological rationalizations of racial discrimination and segregation.—J.C.B.

THE EFFECT OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

IT IS now apparent that the nation is not to be spared the frustrations and agonies of nullification as one of the consequences of the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregated schools. Nullification will fortunately not be as widespread as it was after the Civil War, but it will be more serious because the Negro population is more aware of its rights and more prepared to defend them. Unfortunately, violence is spreading in the South, even in cities like Montgomery, where the first victory for Negroes on the transportation system was won peacefully. In fact, the general pattern seems to be that the sections of the South which were making the most progress in interracial justice have been prompted to a greater progress by the decision, while the recalcitrant sections have been tempted to become more stiff-necked. One is reminded of the Pauline observation on the effect of law, which certainly does not exhaust the meaning of law but emphasizes at least an effect of law. Paul said "I had not known sin . . . except the law said, 'Thou shalt not covet.'"

In other words, an explicit legal injunction will both hasten compliance among the law-abiding and make the defiance of the recalcitrant minority more explicit. Our nation will have to wrestle with this problem for many generations, for it deals not with defiant individuals but with the mores of whole communities who regard the "southern way of life" as more precious and authoritative than the general standards of a humane civilization.

In this situation it is important that all the resources of the community be harnessed for the preservation of law and order and for the achievement of justice. Naturally when the law enjoins a standard of justice, defiance means not only the loss of that standard but the loss of security and order which are embodied in the habitual conformities of a community. The growth of violence in the South is very ominous.

In harnessing the resources of the community, it is now apparent that the white Protestant churches are not found wanting in regard to their leadership, but are found wanting in regard to their lay opinion. The Protestant ministers in the South are forced to be heroes, if they would be at peace with their consciences, because they are supported by the lay opinion in the churches only in cases of heroic action as in Clinton, Tennessee.

The crisis which we face as a nation and the crisis which the churches face is so serious that one is almost inclined to suggest that the total Christian community in America should give some dramatic expression of its concern. But unfortunately we must confess that the sense of community in the Christian Church is not so strong as to obviate the charge of "Yankee" meddling with the southern way of life. We are almost in as serious a position as the churches in South Africa, where even the most heroic action of a Father Huddleston will not affect the opinions of the Boer churches. They must save the situation or it will not be saved. Likewise in our own South we must rely on the courage and integrity of southern Christians. As Yankees we are tainted in the eyes of a racist minority which has grown more and more hysterical with its curious combination of the complacent and the uneasy conscience which men have when their good turns into evil.—R.N.

CLIMATE OF FEAR

Following the severe beating of a member of his congregation (who allegedly spoke favorably of the Negro) by unknown assailants, the Rev. Stiles B. Lines preached a sermon from which we have taken the following excerpts.

"WE ARE living in a climate of fear . . . Fear covers South Carolina like the frost. It kills tender shoots of new growth. It chills the hearts of men . . .

"Men are fearful of the present . . . afraid to express righteous indignation . . . afraid to speak to one another . . .

"My friends, is this kind of Nazi or Communist tyranny over the freedom of men to be accepted in South Carolina. . . ?

"The dead hand of tradition has a claw grip on our vitals; and our spirits are bound to these earthen vessels which are our bodies. When the spirit suffers the body suffers . . .

"If you can accept . . . the fact that the church is different from the world and cannot accept the world's standards, but must be true to her Lord and Master—then we may come to replace the fear in our hearts with love . . ."

The Churches and Race Relations – a Survey

J. OSCAR LEE

IN THE PAST two years the Protestant churches have been preoccupied with two major concerns in the area of race relations. They are: Racial segregation within the churches themselves, and the responsibility of Christians and the churches in aiding community action which will result in constructive solutions to the problems of desegregation and integration of the public schools and of the desegregation of public transportation in municipalities.

These concerns are not new. The churches have long been aware that racial segregation in public education, with its separate and unequal educational opportunities, is unjust and a violation of the worth of human personality. In 1946 the Federal Council of Churches denounced "the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood." The Council requested its constituent communions to work for a non-segregated church and a non-segregated society. However, the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1954 regarding the elimination of segregation in the public schools, and the violent reaction to the decision which occurred in some quarters in the South, served to focus and deepen the concern of many Christians and churches about justice in race relations in general and the elimination of racial segregation in particular. Thus, any assessment of race relations in the nation as a whole or in the churches in particular would seem to indicate a mixed picture. That is, it indicates a picture which portrays many significant advances along with what would appear to be serious problems.

Elimination of Segregation in the Churches

The positive way of stating this goal is that all persons who accept Christ as Lord and Master, as well as the doctrinal standards of the denomination and the local church, ought to be invited to participate in the life of the denomination and of the local church. Such inclusive service without regard to race includes membership in the local church, Christian fellowship, opportunities to worship, the availability of the services of the minister, the use of the educational and welfare services of the churches and employment opportunities in the churches on the basis of character and ability. Approximately twenty denominations have recommended this type of service to their regional de-

nominational organizations and local churches. In the past year the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. and the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church have reaffirmed this position. The Methodist Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the United Lutheran Church have also adopted policies taking such a position.

Many national denominations are moving to implement this position by assuring participation in national denominational organizations on the basis of character and ability, by moving to eliminate segregation in denominational organizations and by holding national meetings only in those places where they can be held on a non-segregated basis. The Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. is working to integrate synods which were racially segregated. In July, 1956, it was reported that the integration of the Mid-South Synod (white) and the Blue-Ridge Synod (Negro) of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. is expected to be completed by 1957. The Texas Synod of the same denomination voted in October, 1956, to operate on an integrated basis. Recently, the General Board of Evangelism of the Methodist Church voted to end administration of its programs on a racially segregated basis and to discontinue its department of Negro work. Last summer, a Negro delegate to the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches at Omaha, Nebraska, was denied living accommodations because of race. The delegates to the General Council not only authorized a court action, but contributed \$500 toward the expenses of the suit.

The departments of social education and action of the several denominations are carrying on intensive programs to eliminate racial segregation in the churches. These programs include the publication of literature and educational activities, such as workshops and conferences. On October 23 and 24, 1956, two hundred Methodists meeting in a conference on integration at Kansas City, Missouri, recommended that "All Methodist churches should have an 'open door' policy and carry forward a positive program of evangelism, witnessing to the inclusive nature of the gospel directed to all men."

Several denominations are carrying on significant studies of the racial practices in their local churches. On November 1, 1956, the Congregational Christian Churches announced that they will conduct a sur-

vey to determine how well racial integration practices in the churches measure up to church pronouncements urging integration. In September, 1956, the Disciples of Christ reported that a study of seven thousand congregations revealed that 464 local congregations in forty states were racially mixed in some degree. A nation-wide poll of Methodists conducted by Dr. Murray H. Leiffer of Garrett Biblical Institute, in the spring of 1956, indicated that "The majority of Methodists think that there should be no segregation of races in the church. . . ."

The crucial point is whether the local churches are following the policy of inclusive service recommended by their national denominations. David Loth and Harold Fleming, in "Integration—North and South," report instances of 130 local churches which between May, 1954, and May, 1956, had included Negroes either as members, worshippers, or participants in the church program. These churches are located in twenty-three northern and western states. Loth and Fleming also indicate that at least ten churches located in the South had accepted Negroes. The study of the Disciples of Christ churches reported that twenty-one local congregations in the South had at least one Negro enrolled as a church member. These figures along with those of several earlier studies would seem to indicate that an increasingly large number of local churches located in northern and western states now serve people on a racially inclusive basis. Since many churches do not report to their national denominational organizations that they are serving people on a racially inclusive basis, there is no way of knowing the full extent of the movement. However, much of the progress appears to have been made by churches located in areas where housing is either racially mixed or changing in racial composition.

The pattern of racially segregated housing which exists in many communities points up a major problem for churches which wish to serve on a racially inclusive basis. The Disciples of Christ survey notes that 30% of the questionnaires returned were from churches located in communities that have residents of only one race. When churches located in this type of community take the position that they will serve people regardless of race, it is almost impossible for them to implement their position by actually having people of another race as church members or participants in the church program. This causes the problem of racial segregation in housing to be a major concern for the churches.

Desegregation in Schools and Public Transportation

Probably no question of race relations has commanded more public attention than the problem of desegregation in the public schools. The struggle to end segregation in public transportation in Montgomery, Alabama, and Tallahassee, Florida, has also commanded great interest.

Any assessment of the problem in the schools presents a mixed picture. A number of cities and smaller communities in border states like Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma have successfully desegregated their schools. On the other hand, many states have been recalcitrant and individuals, as well as groups, have employed economic pressures in the endeavor to maintain the segregated pattern of education. Nor can we fail to remember with shame the violence which broke out in several communities.

The churches have considered school desegregation not as a regional problem, but as a national problem in which all of the citizens of the nation have a responsibility. Therefore, many church organizations, national, regional and local, both in the South as well as in other parts of the country, supported the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court. They believed it to be "a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men." However, by late 1955, when the opposition to the decision was at its height in many communities, it was not easy for many regional and local church organizations to stand by their support of this decision, and yet they did. The writer knows of no instance where such action of support was rescinded. However, the fear of economic sanctions appears to have been as effective in silencing many church members as it has been in silencing the members of many other community organizations. The result has been that the minister often found himself standing alone. In this climate of opinion it is reported that at least ten white ministers were forced to resign their pulpits. There is also reason to believe that there were others whose cases were not known. In several cases the prompt action of national and regional denominational organizations aided these ministers in the period of adjustment and in the process of locating new positions.

In several southern states economic sanctions in the form of loss of jobs, the refusal to supply products needed in retail business and the denial of crop loans were applied against many Negroes and quite a few white persons because of their beliefs about race relations. Often these people looked

to the pastors of their churches to aid them in their time of difficulty. This was particularly true of those who needed food, clothing and shelter because economic sanctions had been applied against them. Many churches and several denominations were able to aid in this situation by making money, food and clothing available through pastors of local churches in the areas of need. Also the fact must be noted that many non-church organizations interested in human welfare rendered much service in this respect.

Largely as a response to requests from local churches as well as from state and regional religious organizations, educational programs have been developed by many denominational and interdenominational organizations, under southern leadership, to aid the churches as they handle problems of racial tension.

Ministerial Action

Many ministers have been courageous in standing up for obedience to the law, for the preservation of the public schools and for the elimination of segregation. However, a large number are silent, and it must be admitted that there are a few ministers who have supported the White Citizens' Councils, the segregationists and even mob action. There is also evidence that the White Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klan have made systematic efforts to influence the membership of the churches. Probably they can be credited with considerable success in silencing people so that their organizational activities can be carried on with little opposition.

An article which appeared in the October 24, 1956 *CHRISTIAN CENTURY* titled "Henderson Pastors' Diary," is not only a record of the courageous action of ministers in that city, but it presents many of the pressures which operate in a tension situation. At the time of the disturbance over school desegregation at Sturgis and Clay, Kentucky, a determined effort was made by the people of the White Citizens' Council to organize a boycott of the Henderson, Kentucky, public schools which had already been integrated for a period of three weeks. Through mass meetings in which methods of mob psychology were used, pressure was exerted to prevail upon parents to keep their children out of school as a protest against the integration plan. The Henderson Ministers' Association took a firm position against this movement. The ministers appeared in a body at a mass meeting sponsored by the White Citizens' Council, at which the president of the ministers' association spoke against the boycott.

The ministers also used radio announcements and parents' meetings in their churches to make their position known to the community. It was the only organization in the community which opposed the boycott and, therefore, must be credited with its defeat. In addition, this incident is symptomatic of the breakdown of communications between responsible groups of white people, and between Negroes and white people, which has happened in many communities.

The Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott under the leadership of the Negro ministers of that city was another instance of courageous action. The purpose of the boycott was to eliminate segregation on city buses and the personal indignities suffered by Negroes under that system. The movement had the support of churches in many sections of the country. The prominence of the use of prayer and the use of non-violent techniques was a clear witness to the religious motivation of the boycott. Churches all over the nation expressed concern by holding prayer services at which collections were taken to help the movement.

A high point in this situation is the ruling of the United States Supreme Court affirming the decision of a three-judge Federal Court that an Alabama law and a Montgomery city ordinance are unconstitutional, thereby banning segregation on intrastate buses. On November 15, 1956, it was reported that Montgomery Negroes had voted to end the boycott and to return to the buses on a non-segregated basis. They "further recommended that this return will not take place until the mandate from the United States Supreme Court is turned over to the Federal District Court . . ." However, alongside of these significant facts one must place the disturbing fact that the officers of several southern states indicated that they would continue to enforce bus segregation laws despite the court's decision. Disobedience of the law and disrespect of the courts are dangerous threats to freedom, democracy and the very existence of the nation. This cannot be ignored without serious consequences.

There can be no doubt that the nation is moving toward the elimination of segregation in every aspect of community life. Within this general picture it can be said that there appears to be steady progress toward the elimination of segregation from the churches. This is particularly true of the local churches in the northern and western states. The challenge confronting the churches is that of making a clear Christian witness in this issue which will be effective in influencing both the churches and the community.

The difficulties which are attendant upon the desegregation of the public schools and public transportation raise many problems which are of basic concern to the churches. Among these problems are the freedom of belief, speech and association, the right of peaceable assembly, obedience to the law, the preservation of the public schools, and the right to petition the Government for the redress of grievances. In a very real sense the attainment of civil rights forces the churches to be concerned with basic problems of civil liberties.

WORLD CHURCH: NEWS AND NOTES

Methodist Statement in South Africa

The following remarks are portions of the Presidential Address of Dr. William Illsley, the President of the Conference of the Methodist Church in the Union of South Africa.

... The continuing missionary obligation of our multiracial church is to spread scriptural holiness throughout South Africa by changing its moral and spiritual climate, and by changing the lives of individuals of all races.

A climate has been described as that assembly of conditions in which things grow—or do not grow... No unbiassed person can deny that our climate is not conducive to the free growth of non-whites towards their full stature in Christ. There is a "God-denying" look, a frostbite which arrests development. Because of the anti-social acts and attitudes limiting the freedom of the majority of our population, the rest of us come under the fire of criticism from all parts of the civilized world.

South Africa is sensitive and uneasy under the spotlight of world criticism. Overseas critics are warned not to intrude in our domestic affairs. This *laager* mentality reminds one of the Hindu who was shown microscopic slides of the water he was drinking from the sacred Ganges, water so full of dirt and disease germs as to constitute a menace to his health. He didn't thank the scientist for warning him of the danger to his life; he promptly smashed the microscope! It is this kind of reaction to world opinion that lays our rulers open to the charge of having a bad conscience. Instead of trying to smash criticism they would be well advised to eliminate the germs contaminating the climate.

The curse of European South Africa has been its attempt to make non-European South Africa feel inferior. It is a mistake to try and make others feel inferior; that is why some Afrikaners hate the British, and why some Africans hate the whites...

The policy of *apartheid*, from which stems all the discriminatory acts of this and previous Governments, is responsible for contaminating our climate with a whole range of deadly evils, varying from common, cruel discourtesies to the denial of basic human rights. In his book, *Freedom, Loyalty and Dissent*, Professor H. S. Commager, of America, says that "rights of life and liberty are inalienable; these are not something the Government graciously

confers on men... any conduct of the State that impairs the dignity of man is dangerous." This writer's description of "guilt by association" might well fit *apartheid*. "It is pernicious in principle, in application and in consequences. It is based on suspicion and fear, on ignorance and bigotry, on arrogance and vanity."

We are witnessing the outworking of this pernicious policy, not merely in restricting growth towards Christian personality, but in aiming at a "development" which points the Africans back along the track of tribalism. Dr. Ben Marais, Professor of Theology in Pretoria University, declares that development of Africans "along their own lines and against their own background" as recommended by the Tomlinson Commission "could result in a return to heathenism."... This backward trend in the *apartheid* policy was neatly exposed when we were laying the foundation stones of our Moroka Institution. Dr. Van Rensburg, Administrator of the Orange Free State Province, urged the Africans not to be cheap imitations of the whites, but to develop on their own lines, adhering to their primitive customs and characteristics. He was followed by Chief Fenyang who said: "I don't quite understand what Dr. Van Rensburg means by developing on our own lines. Where are these lines? Does he mean that it would have been better if Dr. Moroka here had been a Witch Doctor instead of a Doctor of Medicine?" There was no answer. There is no answer, because that is exactly what developing on their own lines would mean.

The Minister of Native Affairs, introducing the Bantu Education Bill, said that "if the native, in any kind of school in existence, is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights he is making a big mistake. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."... We do not and dare not share in giving a specially "tailored" education to fit an African child for a predetermined status of subordination. We shall continue, whatever Government is in power, to lay ourselves open to the charge laid against Martin Luther of "inciting social revolution by putting little people in mind of their prodigious dignity before God." We shall do this, not because we enjoy or find it easy to defy the Government, but because we know it is better to obey God than men. It is significant that the *Bantu Education Journal* for March, 1956, the mouthpiece of the Government, published a statement in direct contradiction to those politicians who try to belittle the Africans' mental capacity. "The Bantu child comes to the school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims." If this is true, why all this elaborate machinery to provide Bantu education as distinct from all other education?

In the enforcement of the Group Areas Act we see another inhuman attack on the freedom of the individual... Our Government sometimes does the right thing with the wrong motive and by the wrong

method! Some of the shanty-towns needed demolishing and their inhabitants needed better houses and more salubrious areas; but when such removals are for the benefit of Europeans, and when non-Europeans are pushed around like cattle, without consultation or consent, and when they suffer financial loss without adequate compensation, then we have both a right and a duty to protest against such denial of basic human rights.

The Tomlinson Report advocates the provision of several all-black areas, including the Protectorates, which—like Naboth's vineyard—do not belong to those who covet them. It also includes areas belonging to European farmers, who are reluctant to sell because they have been promised *apartheid* without tears. Even a Cabinet Minister assured them that sacrifices by Europeans would not be necessary, a statement as false as it was foolish. The Dutch Reformed Federal Council has advocated, in the protective interests of the Africans, that they be given territorial segregation; but the ink was scarcely dry on their resolution when the Prime Minister repudiated it as impracticable, because "our whole economic structure is based on native labour."

There is a lot of cloudy thinking about the economic structure of South Africa . . . the wealth of South Africa does not belong to the Government, but to the people, all the people. The Government is merely the custodian of public monies; it is not their privilege to be gracious and the African's duty to be grateful. Considering the unhappy history of this country, anything we do for non-whites is not charity, but atonement. The fact that overfed European school children are allowed sixpence worth of food daily, while an underfed African child is allowed a little over a penny's worth a day is a sad reflection both on our sense of justice and on our wisdom. It costs more in the long run to restore victims of deficiency diseases than it costs to keep them well-nourished.

The new Prohibition of Interdicts Bill is aimed at another diminution of the African's civic and human rights. If this Bill gets on the statute book an African can be ejected from his home and can-

not ask for an interdict to stay the proceedings until his rights have been determined. It is true that he may appeal after his ejection, and many, after litigation, succeed in getting the original order reversed; but—as one critic remarked—this was like offering a new parachute to a jumper whose first one had failed to function! How far these acts and attitudes are removed from the Magna Carta principle, "to none will we deny justice, to none will we delay it!"

This question I would like to ask Mr. Strydom, who is in power, and Mr. Strauss, who is aspiring to power: Are you doing, or proposing to do, to non-whites, what you would have them do to you and your children if the positions were reversed?

Our protest as Christians is not merely against the symptoms of *apartheid* but against the disease itself, against a philosophy that is contrary to the will of God because it is rooted unashamedly in self-interest and self-preservation. It is our missionary obligation to cleanse the moral and spiritual climate of our land of its prejudices, suspicions and fears; to infuse all our legislation with scriptural holiness until every man, whatever the color of his skin, can walk the earth with dignity. For there is nothing in scripture, or in nature or in history, to suggest that white is God's favorite color. His world has a multicolored design, and to query the wisdom or wonder of it is blasphemous. We are permanently integrated, and any attempt to desegregate the races is as futile as trying to unscramble scrambled eggs. For better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health we are bound together; and there must be equality, respect and love in the partnership to make it a happy one. . . .

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CONTENTS

THE CHURCHES AND RACE RELATIONS—A SURVEY

J. OSCAR LEE